

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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INRE-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07 NSAE-00  
PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 NSC-05 DODE-00  
COME-00 /058 W

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O 151559Z JUN 77  
FM USMISSION NATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4205  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
ALL NATO CAPITALS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 NATO 05376

E.O.11652: GDS  
TAGS: NATO, PFOR  
SUBJECT: ALLIANCE STUDY OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS

REF: STATE 135512

SUMMARY: INITIAL SPC DISCUSSION OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS  
STUDY INDICATED GENERAL SUPPORT FOR US OUTLINE (REFTEL)  
AND SOME CONCERN ABOUT MAINTAINING CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE  
STUDY. CANADIAN REP CIRCULATED SUGGESTIONS (PARA 7 BELOW).  
NO FURTHER GUIDANCE REQUIRED FOR NEXT SPC MEETING ON STUDY,  
JUNE 21. END SUMMARY.

1. AT ITS INITIAL MEETING ON THE ALLIANCE STUDY OF EAST-  
WEST RELATIONS, THE SPC TOOK THE US DRAFT OUTLINE (REFTEL),  
WHICH WE CIRCULATED JUNE 13, AS THE BASIS FOR DISCUSSION.  
WHILE MANY REPS WERE WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS, ALL COMMENTED  
FAVORABLY ON THE COMPREHENSIVENESS AND CLARITY OF THE OUT-  
LINE. A FEW EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE OUTLINE MIGHT BE  
TOO EXTENSIVE AND MIGHT PROMOTE TOO VOLUMINOUS A STUDY.  
CHAIRMAN (JUNG) ARGUED THAT VIRTUALLY ALL POINTS SUGGESTED  
BY THE US SHOULD BE COVERED AND THAT SOME MIGHT BE DEALT  
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WITH BRIEFLY TO RESTRICT FINAL REPORT TO A REASONABLE  
LENGTH.

2. INITIAL REVIEW OF US OUTLINE REVEALED VERY FEW POINTS  
TO WHICH ALLIED REPS OBJECTED. FRENCH, NORWEGIAN AND  
CANADIAN REPS PREFERRED NOT TO DEAL WITH YUGOSLAVIA IN  
PARA 2 OF THE OUTLINE, OR TO HAVE A SEPARATE SECTION ON

YUGOSLAVIA IN THE STUDY, BUT BELIEVED YUGOSLAVIA COULD BE DEALT WITH IN GENERAL TERMS UNDER PARA 4 OF THE OUTLINE. FRENCH REP BELIEVED HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD ALSO WISH ANY MILITARY CONCLUSIONS TO BE INCLUDED IN A SECTION WITH WHICH FRANCE WOULD NOT BE ASSOCIATED.

3. FRENCH REP SAID THERE WAS NEED TO AGREE AT THE OUTSET ON CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE STUDY AND THAT ALLIES WOULD NOT MAKE DRAFTS OR CONTRIBUTIONS AVAILABLE TO PARLIAMENTARIANS OR PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSIONS. IF SOME PARLIAMENTARIANS HAD ACCESS TO THE STUDY, HE ARGUED, PARLIAMENTARIANS IN OTHER COUNTRIES WOULD ALSO WISH TO HAVE ACCESS AND GOVERNMENTS WOULD FEEL CONSTRAINED REGARDING THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS. OTHER REPS ENDORSED NEED FOR CONFIDENTIALITY. US REP SAID HE ANTICIPATED THAT US CONTRIBUTIONS WOULD INCLUDE SENSITIVE MATERIAL, AND THAT WE WOULD WANT STUDY TO BE CLASSIFIED AS NATO SECRET AND HANDLED ACCORDINGLY. AT THE SAME TIME, AS WITH OTHER NATO DOCUMENTS, IT WAS UP TO EACH ALLY TO PRESERVE CONFIDENTIALITY AND TO HANDLE DOCUMENTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS NORMAL PROCEDURES AND CONSTITUTIONAL PRACTICES. SPC AGREED THAT SPECIAL EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE TO PRESERVE CONFIDENTIALITY AND THAT QUESTION OF EVENTUAL PUBLIC RELEASE ON THE STUDY IN A COMMUNIQUE OR UNCLASSIFIED SUMMARY SHOULD BE DECIDED AT A LATER STAGE ON THE BASIS OF CONSENSUS.

4. SEVERAL REPS FAVORED DRAWING ON RESULTS OF NATO ECONOMIC COLLOQUIUM. CHAIRMAN AGREED TO RECOMMEND TO ECONADS THAT THIS COLLOQUIUM BE HELD IN JANUARY 1978 AND THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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RELEVANT TOPIC BE ADOPTED SO THAT SPC COULD DRAW ON RESULTS (SEE USNATO 5116).

5. US REP DREW EXTENSIVELY ON GUIDANCE IN REFTEL AND PREVIOUS CABLES TO EMPHASIZE IMPORTANCE US ATTACHES TO THE STUDY, OUR DESIRE FOR FORWARD LOOKING, POLITICALLY RELEVANT DOCUMENT AND NEED FOR HIGH LEVEL EXPERTS PARTICIPATION. CANADIAN REP CIRCULATED SUGGESTED APPROACH CONTAINED IN PARA 7 BELOW, WHICH HE BELIEVED WAS GENERALLY CONSONANT WITH AND MIGHT SUPPLEMENT THE US APPROACH. DISCUSSION OF CANADIAN SUGGESTIONS WAS INCONCLUSIVE.

6. IN CONCLUSION, CHAIRMAN UNDERTOOK TO CIRCULATE A "NON-PAPER" INCORPORATING US OUTLINE AND PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS OFFERED BY CANADIAN AND OTHER REPS IN TIME FOR NEXT SPC DISCUSSION TUESDAY, JUNE 21. WE BELIEVE EXISTING GUIDANCE IS ADEQUATE FOR NEXT SPC MEETING WHERE MANY REPS WILL PROVIDE FIRST INSTRUCTED COMMENT ON THE OUTLINE.

7. BEGIN TEXT OF CANADIAN PAPER:  
OUTLINE.

CANADIAN PREFERENCE WOULD BE FOR THE STUDY TO BE DIVIDED  
INTO THREE PARTS:

PART I WOULD DEAL WITH THE FUTURE OF EACH WARSAW PACT  
COUNTRY IN TURN UNDER A SERIES OF HEADINGS. WE HAVE NO  
STRONG VIEWS ON WHAT THESE HEADINGS SHOULD BE BUT OBVIOUSLY  
THEY SHOULD INCLUDE DOMESTIC, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND  
SOCIAL CONSIDERATIONS AS WELL AS EXTERNAL PROBLEMS AND

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 NATO 05376

PREOCCUPATIONS.

PART II WOULD LOOK AT WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES AS A WHOLE AND  
TRENDS IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THAT "SYSTEM" WITH WESTERN  
INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES AS ANOTHER "SYSTEM."

PART III WOULD BE AN ANALYSIS OF THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE  
ALLIANCE OF THE TRENDS IDENTIFIED.

COMMENT: THE FIRST TWO PARTS OF THE STUDY SHOULD BE NEAR-  
ING COMPLETION BEFORE ANY EFFORT IS MADE TO BEGIN TACKLING  
THE LAST ONE.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

A POSSIBLE APPROACH WOULD BE FOR WORK ON PART I (AS

DESCRIBED ABOVE) TO BE DIVIDED AMONG THE ALLIES WITH TWO OR THREE COUNTRIES PREPARING RELATIVELY SHORT READABLE PAPERS ON EACH WARSAW PACT COUNTRY. THE OBJECT WOULD BE TO BRING TO THIS PART OF THE STUDY TWO OR THREE DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES ON EACH WARSAW PACT COUNTRY. IT WOULD FALL TO THE SPC TO DRAW ALL THE VARIOUS NATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS  
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TOGETHER.

TIMING.

WHILE WE THINK CAREFUL CONSIDERATION OF THE OUTLINE IS ESSENTIAL, IT SHOULD NOT BE DRAWN OUT. ONCE THE OUTLINE IS AGREED, AN EARLY START SHOULD BE MADE ON WORK. THE TARGET DATE FOR RECEIPT BY NATO OF INITIAL NATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS MIGHT BE EARLY SEPTEMBER. AFTER DISCUSSION IN THE SPC THESE COULD BE DRAWN TOGETHER INTO A DRAFT SECTION OF THE REPORT FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE COUNCIL (PERHAPS REINFORCED) AROUND MID OCTOBER.

EXPERTS

IF THE FIRST MEETING OF SENIOR EXPERTS (PERHAPS REINFORCING THE COUNCIL) WERE TO BE HELD IN THE MID OCTOBER PERIOD IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO KEEP IN MIND THE INVOLVEMENT OF SENIOR OFFICIALS CONCERNED WITH EAST/WEST RELATIONS IN THE OPENING PHASE OF THE SUBSTANTIVE PART OF THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE EXPECTED IN EARLY OCTOBER. THE OBJECT OF THE MEETING OF EXPERTS IN OCTOBER WOULD BE TO ARRIVE AT A GENERAL CONSENSUS ON PART I OF THE STUDY AND TO PROVIDE GUIDANCE TO THE SPC FOR PART II; THE SPC WOULD BE EXPECTED TO PRODUCE A DRAFT REPORT OF THIS SECTION BY APPROXIMATELY MID JANUARY. A FURTHER MEETING OF THE COUNCIL (PERHAPS REINFORCED) COULD THEN CONSIDER THE SECOND PART OF THE REPORT AND GIVE GUIDANCE TO THE SPC ON THE PREPARATION OF PART III I.E. THE SECTION ON THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE. THE TARGET DATE FOR THE COMPLETION OF THIS SECTION WOULD BE THE END OF MARCH FOR REFERRAL TO CAPITALS PREPARING FOR THE NATO SUMMIT IN MAY. (THE 1978 COLLOQUIUM OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE SHOULD BE SCHEDULED SO AS TO PERMIT THE RESULTS OF THE COLLOQUIUM TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN THE EAST/WEST STUDY. THE COLLOQUIUM THEREFORE SHOULD BE SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE IN JANUARY RATHER THAN IN MARCH.

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